1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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dormitories (*mbure*) and take no notice of their parent's admonitions; they go as they like. On the other hand, it was formerly considered a good thing to have bastards; if the father were a noble, so were his children.

Bastards are called "children of the path" (*luve ni wakole*); they are looked down upon, whereas children of the house are respected. A Levuka man holds that bastards are bad characters; they don't obey; they are a bad breed (*kawa*).

An unmarried man is called *thauravou*, youth; a married man is described as *matua*, or old man. An unmarried girl is a "young woman" (*ngone alewa*). Maidens often wear tresses on one side of the head: the hair behind the ear is allowed to grow and is plaited into small cords. It is forbidden to cut off a maiden's tresses unless she appears pregnant. No one formerly would do so unless he knew something against her; now they do so in play. About twenty years ago every girl had tresses; if she had none she was not a virgin; now many are without it; tresses now appear unsightly. They used to be considered an ornament.

MARRIAGE

Cross-cousin marriage brings clans into the relation of cross cousins. Thus there is much intermarriage between Naivi and Vatuwangga. A man of Vatuwangga will be told, "Your sisters are in Vatuwangga, your wives in Naivi." Sometimes of old a man would take over some of his deceased father's wives. Thus Vuetasau took over one of Malani's wives.

Marriages are arranged by the family "turning the points (or bows) towards one another (*vakanamuani*)." Love matches and runaway matches, however, occur. Formerly women were precious, and marriages had to be discussed and arranged.

A marriage ceremony (*vakawati*) is now frequently described as *vakamau*, from the Tongan *fakamau*, to judge, inquire, on account of the questions put at the marriage ceremony according to European custom. I have not attended a wedding, so I must describe it from hearsay:

If a man and a woman like each other the man tells his clan and family (*yavusa*). It is their part "to go to fetch her," as the expression is, *lakovakina* [if *lakovaki* is used it is plain it concerns marriage]. They go to the woman; the man's father bears kava which is called "the thing to fetch her with" (*a ona i lakovi*). The woman comes out or stops inside and they inquire her mind. If she is willing they go away. Sometimes they appoint the date of the wedding if the other side also desires the match; otherwise her relatives do not assent; nothing is decided; the visitors go home, and the woman's people discuss whether or not the marriage will take place. If all agree to the marriage, the date is fixed. The man's people prepare a feast with intensity (*vakambimbi*); if the woman's side should be more energetic than the man's it looks bad. On the wedding day the woman's people make a feast on either a big or a small scale. While the feast is being prepared the couple dress (*teuteu*). A Lauan wedding is a cause of bashfulness because a man is so wrapped in clothes he cannot be seen. The women also put on plenty of painted bark cloth. The man goes to take off his clothes (*ululu*) at the woman's house; the woman goes to take hers off at the man's house. Then they go to church. After that they again dress. A painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) is spread from the woman's house to the man's to be their path. They go backwards and forwards two or three times, taking off their clothes each time and bearing painted bark cloth and whale's teeth; they take off their clothes five or six times. Then the man and the woman each retires to his house to wait for the evening

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meal. Sometime in the day the man's feast is taken over to the woman's house and the woman's to the man's. The man's feast is divided; a big feast consists of about ten of the smaller pigs; and a small feast called "the cutting off of the tresses" (*i koti ni tombe*), for which are selected two or three of the largest and best pigs. [Salesi says that the cutting off of the tresses is a big feast on the day after the first night.] 585

About five o'clock the woman's side takes her over to the man's house with some food; this food is distinct from the feast; it is the food for the "eating together" (*kana tuta*). It is prepared by the women, whereas the feast is the men's work. A whale's tooth is brought forward for the woman as "the thing with which to lead her by the hand" (*i tumbetumbe*). Then the man, having dressed, sits beside the woman. His people bring whale's teeth and mats; these are called a "change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*); it is so because the woman comes to a stranger. Another term is *i rengurengu*, kissing gift. The woman's side removes the gifts. Then they eat together. Should the man be of Vatuwangga and the woman of Naivi, there will be one tray (*i lalakai*) from either clan: one is set down before the man, the other before the woman, and they exchange.

The nuptial couch is covered with new mats provided by the man's side, who also hang up a large sheet of bark cloth (*ngatu*) behind it (7, p. 99). At one wedding in Wathiwathi they also hung a white band of bark cloth of the kind called *ngatutuki* all around the wall plate. Bark cloth known as Tongan is not used for weddings, only Fijian bark cloth (*ngatu vakaviti*), because Fijian bark cloth is noble.

The couple go to bed and an old woman, from the woman's side, sleeps with them. This custom is called *tonitoni*. For two or three nights the pair have no connection. To have connection on the very first night is said to be "lowborn ways" (*i vala vala vakaisi*). The father of the man will ask him whether they had connection (*veiyathovi*). If after the first night they have not done so the man's mother will awaken him and tell him "just to go to his wife that they may have news." It rests with the man whether he will or not; if they do not have connection his mother will awaken him again on the following night. They sleep there for four nights and know whether the girl is a virgin or not. Bark cloth, single pieces (*masi*), and sheets (*ngatu*) are laid on the bed; if they find on it no traces of virginity they almost disperse in shame. If they find blood they wrap it up and take it to the woman's side and show it to them. The people rejoice and dance and shout and beat the drum and say, "It is a good festival." The mat on which she slept is exposed and put out to sun where any one may see it. The man feels aggrieved if his wife is not a virgin and will remember it hereafter and be angry. It is worse if they find out she is not a virgin on the night of the marriage, than if they know beforehand, because it is a cause of distress and bitterness; the man will be angry with his wife about the least thing, however clever she may be. 578

During the four days the women bring boiled breakfast (*i takitaki*). The man's side make an oven for the evening meal and take it over to the woman's side. This for a noble wedding; for a wedding that took place in Wathiwathi they had no breakfast, only the evening meal.

After four nights they make an oven called the sea bathing (*i silisili i wailevu*); then the new woman (*alewa vou*) as the bride is called, goes to fish. She may bathe before the fourth day but this bathing on the fourth day is to make it free (*kena i vakatara*). They make a big feast and gifts (*i yau*) as "her change of clothes" (*i vakamamatha*) after bathing in the sea."

On a certain day the woman's side will take away the mats and bark cloth of the nuptial couch and provide others. These will be removed after an interval, it may be three days, by the man's side and replaced. Then the women's side will remove them; so that each side puts mats and bark cloth twice.

For a first marriage everything is done, nothing left out; but a second marriage is not thought so much of. I saw a wedding ceremony in Oneata 587

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the
574 house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

374 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's
607 people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

551 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of
611 Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

"Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind
643 to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

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764 sand into the grave; earth was thrown on the top and the whole was trampled down. The head should be turned to the east.

The word for grave is *mara;* the chiefly word is *sautambu,* holy chief; no lowborn fellow comes near a *sautambu.*

If a man is buried on the day he died, the burial feast (*mangiti ni veimbulu*) is held after the funeral. If he is buried the next day, this feast is merged in the death feast called *i mburua.* At Ratu Isoa's burial feast a pig was killed. All those who attend the funeral get a share, even distant kinsmen may attend.

766 In the old days the body of a nobleman would lie in the house, it might
565 be a whole month; the people of Narewandamu and Tandravula would
562 remain there in spite of the stench. Ratu Erone's body was kept a month in a coffin waiting for the Governor, and the conches blew all that time without cease. Of old strangers did not during that time go about for fear of being killed "to follow the breath" (*muri thengu*) of the deceased. On the day of the burial three to five of the nobleman's widows were strangled to strew the pit (*me i thoni ni lua*); a bark cloth was passed round their necks and a man tugged at either end. Even Randi Naiau might thus be strangled. The widows sometimes went to their respective clans and asked for death (*kere mate*): "I come that I may be earth for Tui Naiau" (*nggele kei Tui Naiau*). Her brothers would tell her to go and bathe, after which they strangled her either at home or at Great House. If a woman was a stranger there was no one to dispose of her; only her people might strangle her. If Tui Tumbou had a sister married to Tui Naiau, he would direct that she be strangled, an order that was carried out whether or not the woman was willing. A piece of land, generally taro land, was then given to her kins-
[425] folk as a return; this land was called the strangling rope (*wa ni kuna*).
[587] Sometimes when a widow was about to be strangled, the sons of the deceased nobleman would prevent it and take some of them to be their wives. The strangled wives were laid at the bottom of the grave and the nobleman on the top. The custom was not confined to the nobles: the wife of a Vaka-
[589 vanua, two generations ago, was strangled at his death. Surviving widows
304] were called *i loloku;* they shaved their heads, cut off a little finger and were sacred (*tambu lako*).

766 In olden days the clan of Valelailai dragged the nobleman's body to the grave on a crate, lowered it, and folded mats over the body. They received gifts which were made at the burial, also a part of the feast.

765 Either after the burial or when the mourning is over the kissing gifts are distributed among the relatives of the dead (*weka ni putu*) who brought bundles of mats.

The next feast for the dead (*i mburua*) is the largest of feasts, usually held a day or two after the burial. The death feast of one leading nobleman

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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is provided and prepared by the groom's clan and is eaten by the whole village. 585

An analysis of the marriage affinal exchange shows that the most elaborate rites mark the marriage of a virgin. The ceremonies, which last for four days, are summarized as follows:

First day:

1. ra mbutu, affinal exchange of property provided by both clans
2. mangitchi ni vakawatchi, large wedding feast provided by both clans
3. mangitchi ni kana vata, small "eating-together" feast provided by both clans
4. preparation of nuptial couch (bedding contributed by both clans)
5. rarawa, virginity test

Second day:

6. i vaka yandra, large feast for a virgin provided by the boy's clan
7. i vaka mamatha, the "drying" property provided by the boy's clan
8. kotchi ni tombe, cutting of the "virgin locks", property provided by the boy's clan.

Fourth day:

9. i silisili ki wai levu, bath in the sea, property and large feast provided by the boy's clan

Ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 4 involve contributions from both the boy's and the girl's clans. Ceremonies 6, 7, 8, and 9 involve contributions from the boy's clan only. For the actual rites the boy's relatives contribute a larger amount of property and food to the girl's clan than they receive. For the betrothal rites all the property and food is presented by the boy's clan to the girl's clan. Hence marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property in which the boy's clan pays by far the greater share.

For the first marriage of a non-virgin only ceremonies 1, 2, 3, and 7 are held, all in one day. The marriage involves a reciprocal exchange of property between the two clans in which the boy's clan contributes very little more than the girl's.

The marriage of a widow (*ndawai*) is even less elaborate. It consists of [587] ceremonies 2, 3, and 7 held on the first day.

It is clear, therefore, that the man's clan pays for virginity. If the bride is not a virgin the marriage involves a more nearly equal affinal exchange.

DEATH

When a person is near death his body is oiled, dressed in a clean kilt, and moved to a new mat. An unconscious (*tandoka*) person is considered dead (*mate*) because his soul has left his body. He might be restored to life by a medicine called *wai ni ndoka* or by the capture and return of his soul. After death is seen in his eyes, the body is placed on a large piece of Tongan tapa and covered with oiled tapa or a sheet of cloth. 763 [828]